1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they have suspected and thwarted them all. In the reports of the commissioners of Indian affairs, various estimates of their strength may be found, but they are all conjectural. In the report of 1862, it is stated that the Gros Ventres and Mandans, in that year, numbered 1,120, and the Aricarees (then in a separate but neighboring village) 1,000, total 2,120. In the report of 1866 are the following 'approximate numbers': Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total 2,300. In the report of 1871, the population is thus given: Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total, 'about' 2,300. In these estimates, which vary greatly, the first gives the population of the Gros Ventres and Mandans together as more than the Rees; while, in the second and third estimates, the Rees are represented as about twice as numerous as the other two tribes together. In this respect, believe the first quoted estimate to be nearest the truth; for the houses occupied by the Gros Ventres and Mandans number more than those occupied by the Rees. In the estimate of 1866, it will be seen that the Gros Ventres and Mandans are represented as equal to one another. I have many reasons for believing this representation to be incorrect. The conjecture of the writer, based upon all ascertainable data, is that, within the past ten years, the proper population of the village has never been more than 2,500, and that, at present, it is much less. It is pretty certain, too, that of the three tribes, the Aricarees stand first in numerical strength, the Hidatsa second, and the Mandans third.

"However, if a perfect census of the village was taken any day, when no hunting parties were out, it would not show the strength of these tribes; for the scouts who are enlisted at distant posts, their families, and the Minnetarees, who, of late years, have gone to live with the Crows, constituting in all a large proportion of this people, could not be included." (p. 16-17.)

We quote the following valuable extract from Mathews' regarding various languages of the Fort Berthold confederates:

Conversation—Distinct Languages. "To the philologist, it is an interesting fact that this trio of savage clans, although now living in the same village, and having been next door neighbors to each other for more than a hundred years, on terms of peace and intimacy, and to a great extent intermarried, speak, nevertheless, totally distinct languages, which show no perceptible inclination to coalesce.

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These are now supplied to the trade under the name of California shells. Ten years ago, one of these shells, unpolished, sold for a good robe. There is little doubt that they used Abalone, Dentalium, and other sea shells before the traders brought them. Old traders and old Indians say so. Even as late as 1833, it would seem that they had not yet become a regular part of a trader's outfit; for Maximilian says of the Mandans: 'They do not disfigure the bodies; only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass, or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea." (p. 28.)

Matthews quotes the following expressions from D. D. Mitchell, found in Schoolcraft's work, concerning visitors to the Mandans in the eighteenth century:

McIntosh's Early Visit. "In a letter published in Schoolcraft's **Information Respecting the Indian Tribes,** the writer, D. D. Mitchell, says, speaking of the Mandans: 'The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. McIntosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with, the French trading company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossing over the country to the Missouri river, and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day.' I have never seen McIntosh's account, nor have I seen any more extensive notice of it than the one given by Mr. Mitchell; and from this, it does not appear that McIntosh visited any of these agricultural Indians except the Mandans." (p. 29.)

And Matthews expresses the view that British and French traders and interpreters were among the Mandans prior to 1804, all of which appears in evidence hereinbefore submitted. He believes the earliest Europeans to reach them were from Hudson Bay territory, but he was, as he admits (p. 29), unaware of Verendrye's expedition referred to by Catlin, who is criticised by Matthews for failing to "tell us where the account of the expedition of 1738 is to be found," adding: "No other mention of the journey has ever been seen by me."

Matthews thus refers to the peaceable relations nearly always existing between the Mandans and Rees and the Americans:

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 or Mandan, and more difficult to distinguish it from the latter than from the former of these two. The tones of these four languages belonging to the Dakota group are somewhat alike; so much alike that a person possessing but limited acquaintance with them might mistake one for another, hearing it at a distance as I have described. But the contrast in tone between these tongues and the neighboring, but alien, Aricaree is well marked, and any quick-eared person might learn at once to distinguish it from them."

Matthews declares that the tendency to coalescence in the languages of the tribes confederated at Ft. Berthold has been slight since they were known to the whites. He says:

●177 197 **Changes in Course of Time. Coalescence Slight.** "I have said that the three languages spoken in the village at Fort Berthold show no perceptible inclination to coalesce (Ethnography, Sec. 13.) I have said this, well knowing that the statement was somewhat at variance with the opinions of earlier observers. The few Mandan and Minnetaree words given by Lewis and Clarke in proper names show, as far as they go, that the languages have not materially changed since 1804. There are now, and doubtless there were in 1804, many points of correspondence between the Mandan and Hidatsa languages; but there are none which may not be more easily explained by supposing the two languages to have sprung from a common source than by supposing them to have been reciprocally changed by contact. I never could discover that the Hidatsa and Mandan spoken by the rising generation resembled one another more than did those languages spoken by the old men. I do not claim that the long and intimate intercourse which has existed between these two tribes has produced no approximation or coalescence of their languages. It is but reasonable to suppose that the contrary is the case; but I could never get an Indian to point out to me, nor could I ever otherwise discover, a satisfactory instance of such coalescence." (p. 84-85.)

197 He further claims that the Mandan and Aricaree languages are totally different:

Mandan and Ree Languages—No Resemblance. "Throughout the past hundred years, the Mandans have had as much intercourse with the Aricarees as with the Minnetarees; yet I never

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

1. Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292–93.

2. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209–42.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

885 554 701 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he was expected to name others with a distinguished war record to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 721 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

[177]

554 703 628 721 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge. A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

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2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239-40.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks.

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles.

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed.

[p. 102 is blank]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION TO MANDAN CEREMONIALISM

FEW Mandan bundle transfer ceremonies had been performed during the thirty years preceding this study, and the information secured on the former ceremonial activities was based on observations and participation of informants or the informal instructions received of former bundle-holders. Medicine feasts to the bundles were held at irregular intervals, but the forced change from village to rural life when the tribe was placed on family allotments scattered throughout the Reservation, the extinction of the buffalo, and the termination of intertribal warfare in large measure led to the abandonment of the ceremonies. The first of the major ceremonies to be dropped was the annual summer Okipa, which was last performed about 1890. At the time this study was being made, the old women of the Goose Society were accustomed to meet annually during the summer, and some of the old men were using the fish traps for which the ancient rites were still employed. A few men still maintained eagle-trapping lodges along the Little Missouri River, where they were accustomed to go during the fall months to trap eagles and hunt deer.

Most of the principal tribal bundles were preserved by the children of former custodians. White Calf had the Lone Man bundle; Calf Woman had the buffalo masks for the Okipa and a Woman Above bundle; Ben Benson had two of the turtle drums, and Scattercorn had the other; Scattercorn also had Moves Slowly's Hoita and Corn ceremony bundles except the portions that had been accidentally burned; Foolish Woman had his father's Star bundle; Little Owl had Hits on Back's Sigaraga bundle; Mrs. White Duck had the Skull bundle. Feasts were sometimes made to these bundles by relatives largely out of respect to the old people, but lavish disposal of goods was no longer practiced. Crows Heart and his sister, Front Woman, were still making offerings to the eagles and hawks in the spring

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not possible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections.

AGRICULTURE:—The Mandans were, above all, an agricultural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in 1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people.

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 386.

[2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very early by means of trade with nations farther east, and they were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: — As regards the social organization, the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the first method, like the Pawnee, they were known according to the old village from which they had originally come. Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct village names. He says that the people were known by the names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains division according to age. The First Chief who led them from underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distinguished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle, by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the band above was only obtained by purchase from a member who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place in a band still higher up. New members must be received by all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made. Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MANDAN SYSTEM.

Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organizations, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{e}).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly" organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

[i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group.--Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

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Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves.

575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

575 527 535 533 [171]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden.

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers [illegible] the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing [illegible]ers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa:—

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits."
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow.

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

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According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpa-Mih-Ochată), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochată), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochată), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochată) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkăiwi) societies.[1] Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.[2] On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.[3] The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

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Matthews[4] speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

[1] Maximilian, II, 145, 219.
[2] Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.
[3] This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.
[4] Matthews, 155.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

MH 575 177 MH 575 561

In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

MH 575 527 [788]

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light." (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).
[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.
[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.
[3] Matthews, 377.
[4] Handbook of American Indians, I, 797.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamî'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

Calf-woman's ō'rɛ' 'kūpa (nits) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe.

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood.

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterised the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants

[1] Maximilian, II, 132, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 [171] 177

through females, all these relatives being classed with the father's sister regardless of generation.[1] The question arises whether this trait was borrowed by the Mandan, possibly since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. Another peculiarity not indicated by Morgan in his discussion of the Mandan system, though emphasized in his treatment of the Hidatsa and Crow terminologies, is the classification of the maternal uncle with the elder brother. In Mandan this is optional and there is an alternative specific designation for the mother's brother, while Crow and Hidatsa lack any separate word for this relative. From the great rarity of this feature and the simultaneous use of a distinct word for the mother's brother, which moreover is the only designation given by Maximilian and Morgan, I infer that the Mandan borrowed from the Hidatsa the classification of the uncle with the elder brother. This seems to me the more probable because according to the more trustworthy of my informants the sister's son is not addressed as "younger brother" but only by a distinct term correlative with that for mother's brother. But the Hidatsa mode of classifying the maternal uncle is of a piece with the Hidatsa designation of the female descendants of the paternal aunt, i. e., in both cases the same principle of emphasizing clan affiliation to the extent of disregarding generation finds expression. It is, therefore, likely that both features were borrowed by the Mandan.

601 With the aid of two informants, Two-chiefs and Calf-woman, I secured the following imperfect list of kinship terms.

tatɛ́ (vocative only). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

tatɛ́'xihe, tatɛ́'xis (voc.). Father's sister's husband, husband's father, grandfather, greatgrandfather.

mā'ats, tatɛ́'ena (non-voc.). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

mā'txis (non-voc.). Father's sister's husband, grandfather.

tà terité (voc.). My fathers, i. e., my father's fellow-clansmen.

nō'atō'oc (non-voc.). Father's clansman (man speaking).

nō'atōre (non-voc.). Father's clansman (woman speaking).

ptū minikɛ́ (voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc., *ad infinitum*. Non-voc. form: ptū'minikɛ'ena.

naɛ́ (voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

nā'xic, nā'xihɛ́ (voc.). Grandmother, husband's mother.

mihu'xis (non-voc.). Grandmother.

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[1] Morgan's schedules regarding the descendants of the father's sister are blank for the Mandan, (a), 322–330.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 'nō'hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +i' maratokàs. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.[1] This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) *mā-sā-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratore* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minike'* to male and *kunika'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minike'* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

[1] [Consult category 116, pp. 124 for information on the kinship terms.—Analyst]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER No. 14.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

291 171 The Mandans in many instances dress very neatly, and some of them splendidly. As they are in their native state, their dresses are all of their own manufacture; and of course, altogether made of skins of different animals belonging to those regions. There is, certainly, a reigning and striking similarity of costume amongst most of the North Western tribes; and I cannot say that the dress of the Mandans is decidedly distinct from that of the Crows or the Blackfeet, the Assinneboins or the Sioux; yet there are modes of stitching or embroidering, in every tribe, which may at once enable the traveller, who is familiar with their modes, to detect or distinguish the dress of any tribe. These differences consist generally in the fashions of constructing the head-dress, or of garnishing their dresses with the porcupine quills, which they use in great profusion.

291 171 177 Amongst so many different and distinct nations, always at war with each other, and knowing nothing at all of each other's languages; and amongst whom, fashions in dress seldom if ever change; it may seem somewhat strange that we should find these people so nearly following, or imitating each other, in the forms and modes of their dress and ornaments. This must however, be admitted, and I think may be accounted for in a manner, without raising the least argument in favour of the theory of their having all sprung from one stock or one family; for in their continual warfare, when chiefs or warriors fall, their clothes and weapons usually fall into the possession of the victors, who wear them; and the rest of the tribe would naturally more or less often copy from or imitate them; and so also in their repeated councils or treaties of peace, such articles of dress and other manufactures are customarily exchanged, which are equally adopted by the other tribe; and consequently, eventually lead to the similarity which we find amongst the modes of dress, &c. of the different tribes.

291 The tunic or shirt of the Mandan men is very similar in shape to that of the Blackfeet—made of two skins of deer or mountain-sheep, strung with scalp-locks, beads, and ermine. The leggings, like those of the other tribes, of whom I have spoken, are made of deer skins, and shaped to fit the leg, embroidered with porcupine quills, and fringed with scalps from their enemies heads. Their moccasins are made of buckskin, and neatly ornamented

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

595 eight living under one roof, and all apparently quiet and contented; seemingly harmonizing, and enjoying the modes of life and treatment that falls to their lot.

583 Wives in this country are mostly treated for with the father, as in all instances they are regularly bought and sold. In many cases the bargain is made with the father alone, without ever consulting the inclinations of the girl, and seems to be conducted on his part as a mercenary contract entirely, where he stands out for the highest price he can possibly command for her. There are other instances to be sure, where the parties approach each other, and from the expression of a mutual fondness, make their own arrangements, and pass their own mutual vows, which are quite as sacred and inviolable as similar assurances when made in the civilized world. Yet even in such cases, the marriage is never consummated without the necessary form of making presents to the father of the girl.

• 177 It becomes a matter of policy and almost of absolute necessity, for the white men who are Traders in these regions to connect themselves in this way, to one or more of the most influential families in the tribe, which in a measure identifies their interest with that of the nation, and enables them, with the influence of their new family connexions, to carry on successfully their business transactions with them. The young women of the best families only can aspire to such an elevation; and the most of them are exceedingly ambitious for such a connexion, inasmuch as they are certain of a delightful exemption from the slavish duties that devolve upon them when married under other circumstances; and expect to be, as they generally are, allowed to lead a life of ease and idleness, covered with mantles of blue and scarlet cloth—with beads and trinkets, and ribbons, in which they flounce and flirt about, the envied and tinselled belles of every tribe.

These connexions, however, can scarcely be called marriages, for I believe they are generally entered into without the form or solemnizing ceremony of a marriage, and on the part of the father of the girls, conducted purely as a mercenary or business transaction; in which they are very expert, and practice a deal of shrewdness in exacting an adequate price from a purchaser whom they consider possessed of so large and so rich a stock of the world's goods; and who they deem abundantly able to pay liberally for so delightful a commodity.

Almost every Trader and every clerk who commences in the business of this country, speedily enters into such an arrangement, which is done with as little ceremony as he would bargain for a horse, and just as unceremoniously do they annul and abolish this connexion when they wish to leave the country, or change their positions from one tribe to another; at which time the woman is left, a fair and proper candidate for matrimony or speculation, when another applicant comes along, and her father equally desirous for another horse or gun, &c. which he can easily command at her second espousal.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clining posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and fore-arm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture. 264 516

The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or the left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet travelled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women, and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do. 562 264

It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the Indians are "enormous eaters;" but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians), who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honour, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggared part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps *sold* it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defence, or struggle for the prize in their manly games. 261 177

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village.

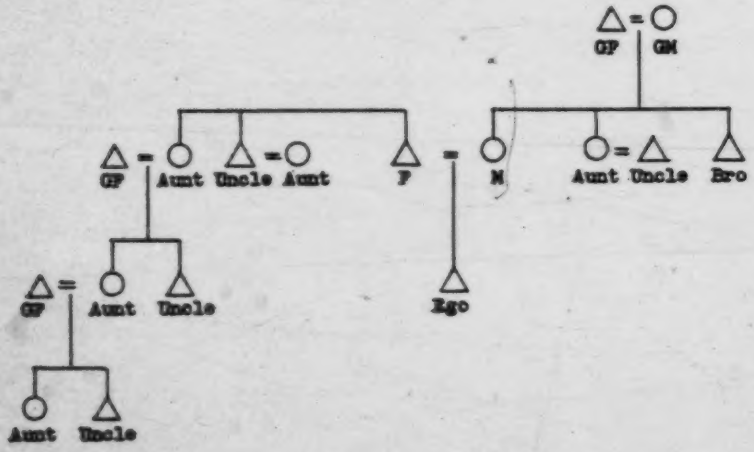

FIG. 2

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village.

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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As shown in Figure 4, John Bear Leg is the child of a mixed Hidatsa-Arikara marriage. The family lives in Lone Hill and speaks only English at home as Mrs. Bear Leg, an Arikara woman, does not understand Hidatsa. While discussing kinship, John referred to his father's sister's daughter, Mary White Duck, by the term "sister" and told me, "That's the white way." This is incorrect, of course, as in the American way Mary would be a cousin to John, while in the Hidatsa way, she would be an *icawi* or father's sister. I became excited here, as I thought I had found a case of ironing out generation differences which would represent an internal shift in kinship type. Further inquiry revealed that John's Arikara mother had told him to regard Mary as a sister. Mrs. Bear Leg wants her son to take all of his relationships

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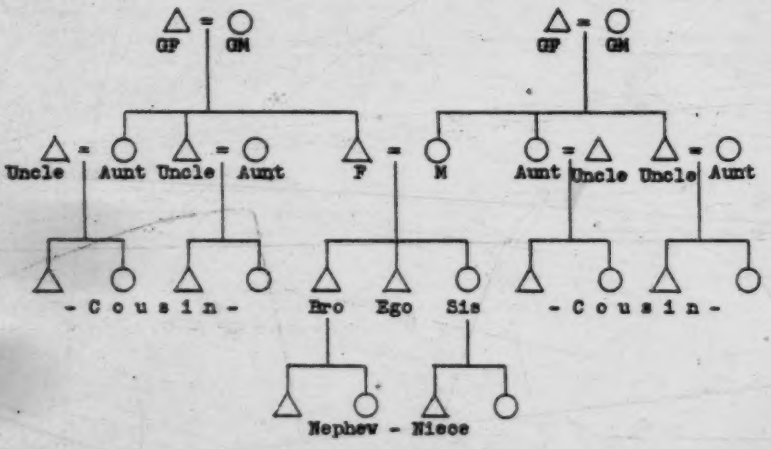

FIG. 3

in the Arikara way, and she attempts to teach him Arikara kinship. I checked with Mary, who informed me, "I know it's not right, but he calls me sister so I call him brother." The use of sibling terms for cross-cousins is one stage in Spoehr's series in the breakdown of a pure Crow system. But in this case it is a borrowed change introduced by an Arikara and not one that arose from the situation in Lone Hill.

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John's total kinship pattern indicates that he follows Hidatsa usage with most of his father's relatives and Arikara usage with all of his mother's relatives, who reside in another village at Fort Berthold. As his mother seems to be the dominant member of the family in these matters, John also refers to some of his father's relatives according to the Arikara way. I pointed out this apparent confusion to John, who replied, "I still don't know about these relationships yet, except what they say to me. The old folks each tell me their way. I'm catching on slow but sure." The net result of this situation is that while John knows how to interact with each specific relative he does not have a consistent total kinship system. John, now 24 years old, understands neither

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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the Hidatsa, Arikara, nor the white kinship pattern. His case illustrates the confusion found among the children of mixed marriages in which the parents have not established a clear-cut identification with any one social system.

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To summarize thus far, the two kinship patterns found in Lone Hill are: (1) the traditional Crow terminological system, which remains the basic type for the village and has not changed, at least since 1862 when Morgan first gathered Mandan and Hidatsa kinship terms; and (2) a white generational system employed primarily by the acculturated families. There is also a separate set of English terms used in the Crow pattern for the benefit of outsiders and an inconsistent terminological pattern in some Indian homes in which a member of an alien tribe has come to Lone Hill through marriage.

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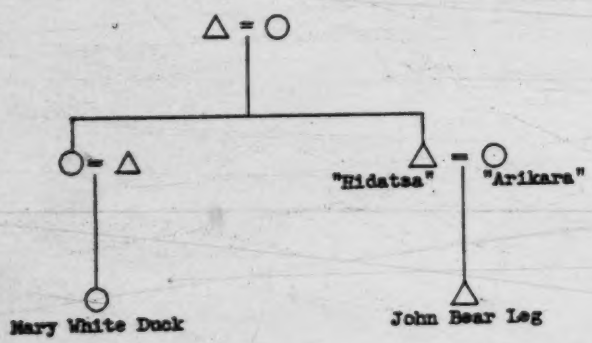

FIG. 4

TWO PROCESSES

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These data, considered in conjunction with the findings of Spoehr and of the Schmitts, indicate that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and progressive shift in type. This process is best illustrated by Spoehr's complete series in the transition from a pure Crow to an American generation type. Although the shift described by Spoehr was an indirect result of acculturative factors, the slow modification of a social structure may be due to internal forces that are not necessarily associated with culture contact (Eggan 1941; Gough 1952). The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. In the second case, reported upon in this paper, the Indian and the white systems exist simultaneously without intermediate variations in kinship patterns.

Both processes of change, slow modification and sudden transformation, occur together in Lone Hill—and they also take place together among the Southeastern tribes. Spoehr emphasized the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow lineage system but he also recognized the more rapid type of kinship change (1947:198). The Mandan-Hidatsa seem to differ from the Southeastern tribes in terms of the relative importance of each process.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilocal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

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The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

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The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm

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the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian."

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system.

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context.

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves.

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Individual adjustment to alternate ways of structuring relationships is neither alien nor unique to the Mandan-Hidatsa (Firth 1930). Overlapping kinship ties tend to be characteristic of small societies with widely extended kinship systems. In addition to consanguineal and affinal relations, the Mandan-Hidatsa extended kinship to the clan, linked clan, moiety, ceremonial system and the supernatural world. As a result, almost every individual in the village was related to everyone else in more than one way. The closest relationship, as defined by the Mandan-Hidatsa, was usually taken in any given case, but factors unique to the individuals involved were also important (Bowers ms.). Today the people often discuss these dual ways of being related and they tend to regard the white way of reckoning kinship as one more way of being related, comparable to the alternate ways within the Indian system.

The following examples will illustrate how the adjustment takes place.

A young girl teased an unacculturated woman, after which the woman said to her, "You're supposed to be my *icawi* [father's sister] and you are not supposed to tease me, but that's O.K., we can take it the white way."

In referring to an acculturated girl, an older woman remarked, "She don't talk Indian. She is supposed to call me mother but she calls me auntie. I would be glad to hear it if she called me mother but she won't use it anymore. She's my daughter but she won't understand so I call her niece. All of that family acts like white kids."

An old woman of the village called a young converted Indian boy by the term "son." He realized that she could be either a mother or a father's sister to him in the Indian way but he did not know which. He came and asked me to find out from my genealogical charts because, as he said, "I can't figure it out and I want to act right with the old lady."

An acculturated woman refers to her mother's brother as an uncle and addresses him as uncle. He follows the traditional system, continuing to call her younger sister and considering himself as an older brother. Even though the terms are taken from two different systems, neither party seems to be especially disturbed. This is an unusual case and tends to occur only when there is no marked discrepancy in the external behavior.

Frank Bruce, who recently returned to the reservation, was related to William White Duck in two ways—their fathers were in the same clan, which required strong obligatory joking, and Frank was a "father" to William, which called for a father-son respect relationship. William had lived on the reservation all his life, understood both relationships, and quite properly, in terms of the traditional system, took the father-son blood relation rather than the clan tie. He talked politely to Frank and considered him a father, whom one never teased, although he never addressed him as father. Frank did not know that he was related to William either way and on one occasion teased him. William then said in public, "This old man of mine wants to take clans as the rule." Thereafter they teased each other on every possible occasion. All this was explained to Frank after it had taken place, as he had not understood that he had changed an existing relationship.

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Two individuals were related to one another in a dual way: one a joking grandfather-grandchild relationship, and the other a respect father-son relation. These boys were roommates at boarding school, during which time they teased one another and acted more like "roommates" than in accordance with either of the two possible kinship relationships. One said of the Indian way, "We left it home." When they returned to the reservation they continued the teasing relationship which had arisen from the school situation. Eventually they came to use grandfather-grandchild kinship terms as a means of justifying to others their mild joking. In this case, it was fortunate that a kinship bond existed to validate their behavior on the reservation.

Schneider (1953:228) has suggested "that one important function of the use of kinship terms as forms of address is in imposing on the situation a kind of sanction which enforces conformity with the social definition of the relationship." In some situations the people of Lone Hill consciously manipulate kinship terms to serve their personal ends. Interaction between the acculturated and unacculturated is not unstructured or loosely defined, but it does have an element of ambiguity as there are two relatively clear-cut alternate systems. A few individuals take advantage of this in rather subtle ways.

At a political meeting, a converted Indian, who ordinarily uses the generational system, addressed a prominent member of the opposing faction as a "father." He used the Crow system in this situation knowing full well that his political rival would not be so indiscreet as to criticize a "son" in public.

An unacculturated woman of the village came into the house of a wealthy converted Indian and addressed him as "older brother." She sat down and indicated that she had some important business in town but had no means of transportation. The converted Indian, as he was preparing to drive her to town, whispered to me, "The only time she ever calls me 'brother' is when she wants something."

CONCLUSION

In earlier times both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Southeastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage.

The comparison of static types and categories at different times will yield only partial information on the processes of change and persistence. If we are satisfied simply with answers to the question of *what* change has taken place, it may be sufficient to study the beginning and the end of a cultural sequence. But only through examination of an ongoing sequence and of the actual contexts in which a choice of alternatives is made can we say *how* the change has happened and thereby gain insight into the process itself. And the deepest understanding of social change may best be achieved by direct study of the actual mechanisms and processes involved.

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Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

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indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27):

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards.

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials:

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of

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62 analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the
12 community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit
16 and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of
● 17 the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

17 If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes
12 which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means, in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

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the approximate time at which the Mandan-Hidatsa abandoned their aboriginal villages and thus does represent an important historical turning point. 177 121

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through intermarriage is a cultural factor, and it should not be confused with degree of blood, a biological factor. The grandfather of one woman in Lone Hill was a white man who came up the Missouri on a steamboat, stayed a few years, and then left for parts unknown. He produced an undetermined number of children by different Indian women, but all his children were raised in Indian homes. The only cultural transmission from this white man is that some of his known descendants suspect that he may have been Irish and they jokingly celebrate St. Patrick's Day in his honor. His descendants have not had a white model despite their one-fourth degree of white blood. In fact, there is probably not one Mandan-Hidatsa who is a biological full blood, due to the great amount of white intermarriage in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This early intermarriage has not been recorded and took place in very different historical circumstances than more recent intermarriage. 144

It was found that seventeen nuclear families have had a white model and that thirty-one families have not. When we put these data together with our criterion of acculturation, a very striking result emerges. It was previously determined that fourteen *acculturated* families *do not* regularly attend the Indian ceremonials and thirty-four *unacculturated* families *do* attend the dances. Each of the fourteen acculturated families has had a white model. Of the thirty-four unacculturated families, thirty-one have not had a white model and three have had. To state these results another way: the families who do not attend the dances have all had a white model; the families who do attend the ceremonials, with three exceptions have not had a white model. 177 121

This is indeed a striking set of facts. The importance of white intermarriage has been suggested by other students who have worked in the same culture area with related tribes, but this is, as far as I know, the first time the relationship has emerged so boldly. Voget (1952), who has delineated four socio-cultural groups among the Crow, has written of his "native" group, "It is not unreasonable to assume that the membership of this socio-cultural category consists for the most part of those of pure descent" (89), while his most acculturated group, the "American marginal," are " . . . predominantly of mixed descent" (91). Based upon her study of the Dakota Sioux, Useem (1947:375) concludes, "The full bloods, in contrast to the mixed bloods, tend to retain more of the Sioux language, to keep more of the early symbols and patterns of Dakotan life, [to reside in] full blood communities . . . , to be less educated, to prefer on-reservation to off-reservation life, and to be opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act of the Federal Government."

THE FACTOR OF ISOLATION

The explanation of why white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation must be sought in the total situation in which the people of Lone Hill find themselves. Single factor explanations do not cover the available data. It might be thought that the Indian who knows he is, and is known to be part

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white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descendants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the government grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological readjustment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

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purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources.

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society.

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age.

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations.

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to

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further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize absolute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday behavior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group cooperation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

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people toward Indians. Indian relationships to whites are made difficult by the many points of incompatibility between their respective value systems. The unacculturated Indian does not work hard and long in order to accumulate land, goods, and status symbols, as this behavior is disapproved in Indian society. The Indian does not receive prestige for persistent efforts to become "successful," and he finds no necessity to establish a good credit rating. Respectable whites often regard unacculturated Indians as lazy and irresponsible; Indian people in turn see much white behavior as stingy.

While a few local whites fanatically reject all Indians, many do make genuine efforts to educate and elevate Indian peoples. Many of these sincere attempts to "help" Indians are done with the implicit belief that the white way is superior to the Indian way, and thus they involve a comparison in which the Indian is deemed unworthy. It is difficult to influence another person if your expressed intention is to change him in a direction which you advertise as being better. These efforts, which usually are directed at social and economic betterment, are based upon the white ethic which most Indians either cannot understand or do not want to accept, and thus they create an insurmountable barrier to learning.

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The Indian people have few opportunities to participate in active social organizations that include members of both cultures. The social roles that Indians can adopt in relation to whites are severely limited and few effective channels of communication exist. Those younger unacculturated Indians who leave Lone Hill to attend high school and off-reservation boarding schools do have the opportunity to increase their interaction with white people, but the vast majority of the adults of the village have not completed grade school. Indians and whites meet at such recreational activities as county fairs, dances, rodeos, and athletic events, but these are temporary affairs and the interaction takes place mainly between younger Indians and the lower-class segment if local white society. Most of the interaction between unacculturated Indians and whites is not only impersonal but it is atomistic in that individuals meet as individuals for specific and unitary purposes. The Indian meets the white man in the role of customer or employee, not as a total human being. In general, the unacculturated Indian finds relationships within the kinship group rewarding; but his impersonal atomistic relationships with outside whites tend to be unrewarding and often are punishing.

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through the mechanism of white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation in Lone Hill. If the people of the village were not physically isolated but were living in proximity to whites, if the natural resources did not satisfy so many economic needs, if the Indian Bureau had not fostered dependency, if the unacculturated children were not so effectively socialized to a life pattern wherein their emotional security depended upon relationships within the kinship group, if Indians did not utilize techniques of adjustment to whites, if the Indian and white value systems were not so incompatible, if white attitudes toward Indians did not create a barrier to learning, and if Indians had the opportunity to integrate into white social organizations—then white intermarriage might not be so

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177 important. As these conditions do exist, the transmission of white ways in an intimate family group becomes the major mechanism of acculturation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

177 571 The thirty-four unacculturated families are isolated from surrounding whites, but they do have contact with the fourteen acculturated families who reside in the village. The acculturated group are a potential source of rapid culture change, and their influence could lead to the spread of white ways throughout the entire population of Lone Hill. But this does not happen. The cultural innovations initiated by the acculturated families are generally not accepted by the unacculturated majority. Why this is so may be understood by first making an additional distinction among the fourteen acculturated families and then describing the social interaction among the groupings that emerge.

A further differentiation is found when the criterion of acculturation is reapplied to the fourteen families who do not regularly attend the Indian ceremonials. Table 1 presents a final summary of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Seven families virtually never attend the dances; we continue to refer to them as acculturated. The remaining seven families, henceforth to be called "marginal," do participate in the ceremonials when they are in the village. However, the seven marginal families do not live in Lone Hill for more than six to eight months of the year. For the rest of the year, during their off-reservation periods, they interact with whites and with Indians from other tribes. Marginal families and individuals may leave abruptly by automobile for South Dakota, Montana, or even California, and stay away for months at a time. They are called marginal specifically because their shifting pattern of residence prevents them from regularly attending the Indian ceremonials and from fully participating in village culture. While they are living in Lone Hill, the marginal families interact primarily with unacculturated Indians. They are very active in community affairs, seem to uphold Indian beliefs and values, and at times are among the staunchest defenders of traditional Indian ways. Despite their varied experiences outside Lone Hill, the marginal families do not initiate major cultural change within the village.

Table 1.—Group Differences in Mandan-Hidatsa Acculturation

Degree of Acculturation	White Model in Household	
	Absent	Present
Unacculturated	31	3
Marginal	0	7
Acculturated	0	7

177 158 Observation indicates that members of the marginal families are restless, unsatisfied, rather unpredictable, and some are psychologically unstable. In every one of these seven families there is a constant pattern of excessive drinking and fighting, and every adult male has a jail record for committing minor offenses. One of these men is a severe alcoholic, while a second has spent almost three years in a state asylum where he was diagnosed as a case of

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dementia praecox. The latter travels all over the United States as a hobo, but always returns to the village. A third marginal male went AWOL from the Army, and was once sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for forgery. Still another individual, although married, has admitted to the paternity of three children by three different off-reservation women, and action has been taken in two of the cases for nonsupport.

The relationships between the seven acculturated families and the thirty-four unacculturated families are characterized by much hostility and a low frequency of social interaction. The acculturated people rarely visit at unacculturated homes, do not participate in the dances or other community activities, and make special efforts to keep their children isolated from the unacculturated children. White "middle class" values are the criteria by which the acculturated Indian appraises his worth and evaluates himself, even though he is not a member of any white social group. Some acculturated individuals actually over-react to those white standards which form the basis for white disapproval of Indian behavior. One man in the village never touches a drop of liquor, is very active in the Christian Church, is up for breakfast every morning by seven, accumulates land and money to the point of being miserly, and will pay every debt before it is due. The acculturated Indians not only reject traditional Indian ways; they often will openly and severely criticize Indian behavior. They have become spokesmen within Lone Hill for those whites who feel that the solution to the Indian "problem" is to destroy the old culture. For the acculturated individual it is inevitable that the Indian people must live in a white world. They see the unacculturated Indians as holding back the course of progress to the detriment of all. The unacculturated majority feel that the acculturated families have taken for themselves what belongs to everyone, have violated the primary Indian values of generosity and emphasis on group welfare, and are "in cahoots" with the Indian Bureau against the best interests of the Indian people. They see the acculturated Indians as traitors and collaborationists.

Acculturated Indians actively seek to increase their interaction with middle class whites, as they need their approval and support. White people tend to accept the acculturated Indian because he behaves in accordance with the middle class ethic and is docile in his relations to whites. Almost without exception, when whites make their infrequent trips to Lone Hill they visit at the homes of a handful of acculturated families. As a consequence, the unacculturated Indians are further isolated from white contact in the village. During the first two weeks that my wife and I lived in Lone Hill, a nearby acculturated family brought us fresh milk, butter, and rolls, offered to drive us around the area, invited us to supper, and was even ready to discuss how we could best obtain rapport with the older Indian people. The acculturated families sought us out, while we had to take the initiative in meeting the unacculturated families.

Many government employees and surrounding whites feel that acculturated Indians are outstanding examples of what any individual Indian could achieve given the requisite ambition. Acculturated Indians have a virtual

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177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 621 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and the "No" or conservative faction. The bâsis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

177 167 161 Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between themselves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as acculturated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

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It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

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White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

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There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

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parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

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It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways."

The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home.

MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

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177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

361 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

124 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

177 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim
361 preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised

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their children to become like whites even though they continued to adhere to many Indian ways and values. As one informant expressed it, "Jim Brown played two parts."

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It is probable that many of the unacculturated families have not remained unacculturated by choice, for in some cases they too have aspirations that they and their children may live in the white world. But the total situation in Lone Hill is such that the unacculturated families lack both sufficient understanding of white ways and realistic opportunities by which they may live successfully in middle class white society. As an illustration, selected because it is admittedly extreme, I present the case of Paul Beaver, a middle-aged unacculturated Indian who decided to move to a large city in North Dakota with his wife and eight children. He lived in a hotel where his expenses were far beyond the family's meager earnings, and they existed by borrowing money until they ran up a huge debt. The man was employed as a helper in a paint shop and one winter day he heated the paint to make it smooth. The paint exploded, burned down the shop, and caused damages estimated at $50,000. Paul Beaver was promptly fired from his job. At one time he planned to tour the country with an Indian show, but he had no agent, no conception of where to go, and no advance booking. Another time he had the idea of setting up a wood carving store in a large city. He carves only one item, small Indian heads, which he has never sold, nor did he know if there was a market in the city for Indian heads. Although Paul Beaver has made three or four attempts within the last thirty years to leave Lone Hill, he readily adjusts to life in the village when he returns. Those unacculturated families who live in Lone Hill as a second choice can do so effectively and with ease, without the inner conflict and vacillating identifications of the marginal families. Paul Beaver is an announcer at the Indian dances, an officer in one of the village societies, and he receives recognition and satisfaction in traditional Indian ways. He speaks lightly of his off-reservation experiences, and with considerable humor.

CONCLUSION

The interplay of two factors, the presence or absence of a white model through intermarriage and the conscious preparation of children by their parents for an adult life in the Indian or white world, has led to a preliminary definition of the basis of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation.

1. Thirty-one unacculturated families attend the Indian dances, have not had a white model, and train their children to live among the people of Lone Hill village. Although their culture is mixed and continually changing, the unacculturated families have relatively clear-cut identifications with and adjustment to contemporary reservation culture.

2. Seven acculturated families do not attend the dances, have had a white model, and prepare their children for a life among whites outside the village. Members of the acculturated families have not been passive agents adjusting to forces impinging upon them. Individuals within the acculturated group are active and creative agents in the acculturation process, who change them-

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selves, their children, and their culture. The presence of the American generational kinship system and other cultural changes in Lone Hill (Bruner 1955) were the result of conscious efforts by individuals to bring about these changes through their children.

3. The remaining ten families have had a white model; three follow the unacculturated life pattern, and seven marginal families periodically shift their residence from Indian to white society. The marginal families are bicultural; they have a dual model of the universe situationally defined.

Given the total situation as it exists in Lone Hill, early experience in the nuclear family is decisive in the acculturative process. We may even hazard the guess that unless there is a major change in the total milieu, acculturation in Lone Hill will continue to be dependent upon social learning in small family groups.

NOTES

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 53rd meeting of the American Anthropological Association held in Detroit, December, 1954. The Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship provided financial support for field work. Elaine-Carol Bruner, Donald T. Campbell, Dorothy Eggan, Fred Eggan, Omar K. Moore, George P. Murdock, Robert Redfield, Sol Tax, Sherry Washburn, and especially two fellow fieldworkers, Robert Merrill and Robert Reitz, have generously offered suggestions at various stages of this work. Their cumulative aid has indeed been considerable.

[2] Lone Hill is the Indian name for the community. Names of all informants mentioned in this paper are pseudonyms.

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formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

† The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 328.-A]

000 252 415 323

177

[411 412]

609 622

[175]

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 241 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 574 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 ●177 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn, beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[P.384(C)]

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when
accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the
least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them
accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following
articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large
knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen
hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a
plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several
huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[421] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited
guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few
inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full
speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted
of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did
not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size,
fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture,
passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total
cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms
[gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord
for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be
about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging,
stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no
price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the pay-
ment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but
the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and
horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most
trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not
even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving some-
thing in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all